ing time. Humphries (1944 : 3) estimates the annual payment per man to have ranged from a few shillings to £4 per year.

At that time some of the young single men were going out to work on plantations in return for food, accommodation and a cash wage of £6 per year. All plantations had to supply tobacco, soap, sugar and meat each week-end, and some paid wages every month (usually 10/-). But payment in cash and kind was not the only incentive to taking employment outside the district. Perhaps the main reason was the experience involved, for it seems to have become a necessary prerequisite to manhood that a youth should have been away to work. The income acquired was used at least partly to supply his bride-wealth on his return.

From discussions with many Orokaiva people who were involved in the plantations it seems that they regarded the scheme as an imposition whereby the people were required to plant coffee which the government commandeered and sold to its own profit. The annual cash payment was not viewed as a price per pound but as a token payment by government for their labour.(1) Official reports (e.g. P.A.R. 1933-4 : 27) noted that the people "complain loudly" when the payment was not up to expectations and in 1939 a demonstration occurred when the money paid out at Higaturu was thrown on the ground by the recipients.

The plantations were undoubtedly overstaffed and workers should not have been under any strain to complete their tasks. With 700 workers for the 242 acres of coffee there was an average of nearly three workers to the acre, though allowance must be made for their having to carry the produce to the depot and in some cases to pulp it also. At Ongoho there were six to the acre, though walking to and from the job must have

(1) It is still quite widely held that produce prices are fixed by government, and that in the same way as Europeans are paid higher wages, they receive higher prices for their coffee. Humphries (1944 : 2) noted that the people regarded "working for the government" on native plantations as much less remunerative than working for a planter.

CHAPTER 4 - WORK ORGANIZATION

Characteristics of the work force

464 At the time of our survey there were 23 persons of 15 years of age and over living in the village. One old man was very frail, and one woman who was visiting her brother while she recuperated from an injury, did no productive work. There were no girls between the ages of ten and fourteen, and only three boys. Two of the boys were temporary visitors and did not stay for long and the thrid, a lad of about ten years, was never seen to engage in any productive work. Children of nine years and under frequently helped with domestic chores like carrying water and firewood, but they took little or no part in agricultural production. This left a work force of 11 men and 10 women, though one man died during the survey, thus leaving equal numbers of each sex.

464 As shown in Table 9 below, all Inonda household
166 heads except one had been employed,(1) and they had spent at least part of that time away from their home village. With the exception of those employed as teachers, village councillors or village constables, almost all the men had gone away to work before they married (and marriage was consequently delayed for these men). There was no pressing economic reason for young single men to remain in the village, for subsistence gardening is primarily women's work and such men's work as there is to do can usually be done by the head of the household. In fact the
888 people have come to regard a trip away to work as a necessary
554 prerequisite to adult life. It gives an opportunity to earn money (much of which is saved in order to acquire a bride on return to the village) as well as prestige, and the one man who had never had paid work was mocked on that account. Only one Inonda man was employed away from the village at the time of the survey. He was a single man who was working in Port Moresby (and was not included in the survey).

(1) There were three men who were not heads of households. Two were old men who had not had any paid work as it had not been available in the time of their youth. The other was a young man who had spent 4 years as a medical orderly. Three women had been employed - two had spent a year each as teachers and one had spent a year in domestic service.